/11 cont./

133 mîzân al-miyâh, the reservoir of the mountain (2).

2. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 91.

Reservoir of many other things as well, as one knows.

/12/ Limitation of the Seksawa World

One understands how this ridge has struck imaginations. For anyone going upstream, it constitutes a continuous rampart toward the S., the E., and the W.

One should imagine two walls, oriented N.-S. They are the Bwibaun to the W., Demsira side, the Afuzar to the E., Gedmiwa side. Between the two, the valley of the Seksawa, going back toward the S., bisecting, up to the angle of a concave V, whose point, directed toward the Sous, would be the Temt'daden (3,340 meters). One of the branches of the V goes off toward the N.-W. The continuous chain (3,000 meters) is notched with several cols: [175] the Tizi n-Tmirût, the T. Uzdud, and especially the T. n-Trga, [167] which Brives crossed, and which is of great historical importance because it is by way of it that the immigrants from the Sous arrived. There, a displacement toward the N.: here is the Tabgurt (3,210 meters), pivot of the Seksawa landscape. From the Tabgurt, the chain bends boldly toward the W.: it will be joined, toward the Wagrarat, to the southern prolongation of the W. wall. The other stroke of the V rejoins the very complex high levels of the Tichka, where the E. wall is rooted. On this course the anticlinal culminates at the geometric dome of the Ras Mulay Ali (3,400 meters). With the Ikis, like a "camel's hump" or "cock's comb," according to observers (3,180 meters), and the Tabgurt, the Ras, "the head" (or better, the Akyud', "the tress"), Mulay Ali, presents itself to view from very far away on the plain. And from all the high surfaces separating the valleys, lie bare all at once, to the E. as well as to the W., these "long walls" of the Seksawa landscape, which are the Bwibaun and the Afuzar. On

[Ait H'adduyws]

/44 cont./

173 archeological tenor. The families issued from the great ances-
634 tor, the a. D'alh'a, occupy several villages and, in the native
619 view, contribute no little in adorning the country with a discreet, secret, but real touch of authenticity. Vestiges of the past, they remain the support of a legitimacy depending on the Seksawa, from which the other founders benefit little or much. A lineage
[613] authentic and allogeneous, today all are sons of H'addδ. Immaterial factors, whose action on these montagnards should not be minimized, have imposed their truce here: perhaps the force attached to this saint, yet left out of the rites, almost forgotten, but who is nonetheless "the great ancestor."

133 It is a completely different impression that is made on the
487 traveler who, leaving the valley, climbs the Tizi n-Tbgurt
175 (2,650 meters). To his right the Tizi n-Trga opens a difficult
166 but indispensable passage toward the Sous. It is this route that
167 was taken in the course of the last centuries by the invaders coming from the Anti-Atlas to take the place of the old dying populations. And it is from there that they spread toward the N. From the flanks of the Tabgurt, several avenues in fact radiate toward the plain; they have remained the habitat of the new men: a. M'hnd, a. Lh'sen, Idma. Toward the N. and the N.-W. arch
133 the highlands separating the constitutive valleys of the asif n.-a.
101 Lh'sen. The eye follows their outlines up to the bar of the Bwi-
634 baun; in the axis, at a distance, appears, by means of an opening, the tabular relief of the Dwiran. To the N.-E. descend the terraces of Agersili. From there, the landscape bifurcates, one might say, into crossroads. /45/ It is in these divergent directions that the history of the peoples coming from the Sous is spread out. Thus one might wonder if the political axis which now coincides with the valley has not changed through the ages.

"Cantons" Par Excellence

101 Here we are in the immured confines of the Seksawa world.
184 And even these people here are no longer Seksawa. They are
634 vassalized Demsira. Last remains of the encroachments made by
619 their people at an unknown time on all the lower Seksawa, up to

[Ait Abdella]

/57 cont./

103 A harsh history survives in the toponyms. A squad of saints:
[196] Sidi Rah'h'âl n-a. Ikherrachen-at Imi n-tghli, higher the Re-
graga of Talâint and Tiburiin, higher still the marabouts /58/ of
[192] Igerwal -- come between a. Âbdella and a. Musa. The char-
acteristics of the toponymy, clinging to a landscape itself very
expressive, accentuate this impression of a passage from one
world to another: here a ruiniform rock, the "rock of the Fort,"
Tansmert wugadir, there a wall of stone seeming to close the
valley, Lluh'n-Khaddo, which is perhaps "the Table of H'addô," just as higher there will be an Amlal Yah'ya: and all of these names have a possibly historic sonority. Finally, and even more characteristic, the majestic site of the zaouia of Talâint is dominated by a hill called Awrir n-sidi Limam, at the foot of which there is a "hollow" of the Mahdi Tamd'a n-Lmehdi. One knows who this Imam Lmehdi is in the language of the mountains: this is actually Ibn Toumert. This reminder here, at the very spot where another domain is going to begin, which an accessory hagiology, besides the relief and a violent combativity, defended for
184 a long time, is to be contemplated. The bond of this country of transition with the people of Tuz'z'umt and Bulᶜwân can only be artificial. Visibly this world is without unity. Its ikhs-s, one will
[167] see, are heteroclites. They call themselves recent occupants; and by title of immigrants and buyers rather than conquerors.

133 To the E. of this section of valley, confused marly hills ex-
131 tend their yellowish glaciated rock to the base of the calcareous
634 entablatures, russet and graven at the summit, where the Dwiran domain begins. Again, a former no man's land /in English in the original source/, where, still in the memory of man, hordes of brigands, some of whom came from the Sous, ransomed at will or even assassinated shepherd or traveler. Today, a zone of pasture-land between tribes, where significantly the Idma have acquired,
133 or recovered, the right of usage. This mass of alfa steppe, which
634 toward the S., at the approaches to Z'init', is famous for a huge ring of polished stone, with tumulus in the center, the tarrut' n-Lala Aziza, has been mentioned above. The saint,

[Ait Abdella]

/65 cont./

Second Case

634 619 /In the original source the following two paragraphs are printed in small type./ The one of the a. Abdella (1),

[195] 1. I thus note, very approximately, the local pronunciation of the name of this group, which differs appreciably from that of the name of an individual, Abdelà, corresponding to ar. /Arabic/ ᶜAbd Allah.

of the lower valley. Their name calls to mind that of a famous [167] agellid of the fourteenth century. But, by the same contradiction turned up in a. H'adduyws, the avowed origin of the different ikhs-s is not even attributed to the Seksawa stock. The thing is complicated here by an instability of habitat and by an uncertainty peculiar to these marginal populations. Invasions, infiltrations, conquests, revolts, submission to the power of the plain, [175] in brief, destruction internally or externally, were repeated all 173 during the past. Legend, confirmed by the old land titles, has it 634 that the a. Abdella succeeded the former Demsira occupants here. 619 During a period that we shall try to determine, the latter, spread out well beyond their present sector, held the lower valley of the Seksawa, up to Bulᶜwân exclusively, and that of the asif n-a. Lh'sen. To the E. they went up to Taddert of the Dwiran.

619 634 In the case of a. Abdella, whose whole history indicates [178] vulnerability and who, upon contact with the plain, already lost many of their old characteristics, the taqbilt is not divided into subdivisions like the "thirds" of the a. H'adduyws. Here, it is 621 the village that plays the role of political unit -- which the [613] mountain denies it. In each village ikhs-s abound, each of which has its legend of origin.

619 /101/ chain. This feeling has its price. It is not unimportant that old Makhzen /makhzan/ protocol classes all these tribes, or at least those with which it is familiar, as "people of the Dir" [443] (Diyyāra). But observation of a market such as Imintanout orients 619 the research differently. The principal bulk of the exchanges is 438 made less between the two terms of the plain-mountain pair than 439 between the plain-mountain pair and the great South on the one side, Marrakech on the other (1).

[114] 1. That comes out in the evidence of the inquiry conducted on the spot, in the spring of 1952, by MM. Adam, Trystram, Granai, and several other researchers.

Imintanout is the relay toward the Haouz in a system in which 464 Goulimine is the relay toward Mauritania. Besides, like the Sous, 166 the Atlas is a great provider of seasonal or permanent manual 167 labor. A mass of wages and savings irrigates the country. The amplitude of this movement extends toward the N. up to the large towns of the coast. It goes far beyond the simple solidarities of Dir. It enlarges the economic and human cadre up to limits which, today at least, go beyond Morocco and even the Métropole.

121 The relation of the plain and the mountain is thus irreducible 619 to a simplistic dialogue. One divines a thousand connections that bind the partners, not solely between them, but the two of them to a world singularly larger than the picturesque isolation of the high cantons might make one presume. By degrees, it is the whole external articulation of a seemingly closed system that one is led to 174 examine. Now, beyond some historical indications, in part conjectural, we have at our disposal for such an examination only extrapolations from the present. The method is risky. Two precise elements nevertheless at the very least authorize the investigation. They are none other than those of the daily food: and, because of that, concrete and, in a certain measure, durable.

/102 cont./

243 justified. In case of a blockade, barley and maize always ensure
243 a minimum difficult to appraise, but consistent. The great
173 families of the past, insofar as one remembers them, tended to
433 a certain autarchy. The others produced in cereals a proportion going, according to the affluence of the land, from a quarter to a third of the needs. Such is still the actual state: one can form an
243 idea of it from the volume of family purchases at the souqs of the
43 Dir or, still more instructively, from those of the col at Timez-
221 gadiwin or Argana. The first trimester following a normal harvest is not in deficit. From the middle of the agricultural year, all, except the great ones, depend upon the outside. Market gar-
244 dening, it is true, adds a substantial contribution. Especially the
245 turnip; accessorily the carrot, the gourd. And even more the
433 fruits: walnuts, almonds, olives, simultaneously or separately,
[146] depending on the altitude. The value in calories produced per unit of surface of these last cultivations greatly exceeds that of the cereals. The equivalences which one could thus establish would expand notably the agricultural space of populations whose picturesque escarpments, viewed from a little too far, seem to reduce to a permanent scarcity. There would indeed be some ideas to revise on that.

166 Finally, it is necessary to take account of the emigration,
• 167 which removes, as one knows, a noticeable proportion of consumers, at the same time that it transforms them into importers of "devises" /currency/, and this latter term is surely not out of place, for these relations stand out in international exchange. As old as they appear, they depend on the political con-
619 juncture and are subject /103/ to variation. A comparison that
648 comes to mind and which is prompted by the very appearance of the country, with its cliff hanging over the plain, is fishing. Everything happens as if the relations with the plain were those of a coast people, be it with the littoral waters, and there we have the Dir relations properly speaking -- be it with faraway seas: the emigration. Coastal fishing and high-seas fishing, on the one hand, international relations around the border markets and intermediate places such as Imintanout on the other hand:

[Ait Mh'nd]

/178 cont./

634 that was reflected up to the last times of siba /revolt/ in the
613 political rivalry between the two original ikhs-s: a. Umghar and
173 a. Bakhkha. The former was traditionally devoted to municipal
669 preponderance. The latter, to the agricultural initium. Neutral, the ikhs of the Imzilen provided conciliators: it was again asked recently, by a tumultuary election, for a customary judge. The a. Lamin started the war. The ait Umghar, having formed an alliance with the Idma and their emerging dynasty, the a. Anunu, consolidated their own power and ensured the advantage to the amghar Abdesslam b. Abdelmalek, father of the present chief.

634 Today, the a. Mh'nd include 120 foyers, to which it is
619 proper to add 44 emigrant ones, more or less settled outside.
592 These figures, at the time of the 1929 investigation, were respec-
162 tively 100 and 13 hearths. Progression of 1/5 in 20 years.

/179/ An Archaic Emigration

166 This emigration is an ancient phenomenon. The travelers
167 establish residence in the country of their choice, but keep their lands in their native country. They are seen again at harvest time. In April, 1951, a force of 60 men, that is, one from every two foyers, descended into the plain for the harvest. On the other hand, a worker emigration is still unknown.

About a third of the a. Mh'nd have settled outside of the
[179] Seksawa. This phenomenon, of ancient type, and not yet influenced by the industrial thrust of Morocco, doubtlessly has a certain documentary value. Among these emigrant foyers one counts: 1 settled in Marrakech, 4 in Casablanca, 3 at Imintanout, 3 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), 8 in ait Abdella, 2 at Ghdir Bnan, 4 in Ud Didan, 3 in Ud Mumna, 4 at Lalla^{C}Ariba, 1 in Ud Sawla (Ud Besseba^{C}), 10 at Tafttacht (Chyâd'ma), 1 in ait ^{C}Aliwach (Mjjat'). That is, all departed toward the north.

It seemed interesting to find again in the plain, where they are within direct reach of the investigation, some of these temporary or definitive emigrants.

166 Brahim u H'ammo n-a. Umzil (60 years old), although living
159 at Agadir Inflas (Dwiran), still has all his relatives in a. Mh'nd.

/237 cont./
778 about whom a marabout from the S. said to the Sultan in 1882:
776 "They do not want their people to be oppressed" (2).

2. Lieut.-colonel Justinard, Les Ait Ba ᶜAmran /The Ait Ba ᶜAmran/, 1930, p. 106.

181 A closely guarded isolation, vaguely supernatural, has not /238/ failed to react on the physiognomy traditionally attributed to the people and to the site of the valley. This was done in a double sense, according to the very ambiguity of this sort of idea. Cheats, pagans, frauds, and magicians -- the Seksawa are seen as such by their montagnard neighbors, who differ from them pro-
[184] foundly. How their personality contrasts with that, less rich and less intense, also less redoubtable, of the Dwiran, the Demsira, or the Nfifa! The analysis perhaps fails to account for such-and-
[167] such a peculiarity, but the fact is there. Waves of emigrants from the Anti-Atlas and the Sous were able to penetrate the Seksawa, to remake them from within, without succeeding in modifying a character that one is therefore led to link, not to such-and-such an ethnic composition, but to a people's personality and to a country's vocation. Only what is to be understood by these words?

Ritual Coloration of the Valley

175 In the fourteenth century, Ibn Khaldûn echoed the disquieting, but suggestive rumors concerning the Seksawa chefferie /military district/ of his time (1).

1. We have translated this passage integrally in our "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 387 sq.

In the eighteenth, under the pen of a scholar curiously archeologist, the chronicle of the marabout of Tasaft evokes traits of the

423 /354 cont./
181 existence is only picturesque chance or corresponds to something historic.

423 Two adages, reproduced by the Chleuh /Shluh/ jurists, illus-
829 trate the two faces of the problem (1).

1. J. Berque, "Les Ajwiba d'al-ᶜAbbâsî /The Ajwiba of al-ᶜAbbâsî/," R. al., 1950, note to §10.

"The field," says as-Suktânî, "is, in the Sous, more essential than the house elsewhere." "Our fields," says an author from the Ammeln, "are our money. Therefore we use them as someone else would use money." How the permanent landowner-foundation of this society can arrive at a completely fiduciary mobility, this is what we are going to try to understand.

423 The space, I mean the irrigated and valorized space in which this life moves, is madly exiguous. Figures have been given that would illustrate to the eyes of the economist the fundamental futility of it: something like a humanity upon flower pots! But
423 this very unsufficiency seems to have at all times contributed,
166 along with other factors, to the practice of emigration. Depar-
•167 tures, seasonal or for a longer term, descents, coastal or deep-sea,
194 if I may venture to say it, to the plain, desertion before famine or sickness, evacuation before the enemy, movements provoked by distress or aggressiveness: quite an intense vibration of groups and individuals is to be divined in the past. Whence these still /355/ identifiable deposits left by layers of vanished populations: a. H'ogg^{w}a, a. Ish'aq, a. Gasa in the Moyen /Middle/ and the Haut /Upper/ Seksawa. Indications of a violent past, certainly. But
423 violence in itself alone does not explain everything. Landed-
425 property legitimacy is irreducible here. The best proof of this is that in the case of military conquest the conqueror himself judges his right insufficient as long as he has not succeeded, by long and difficult negotiations, in consolidating his land expropriation by regular purchase. Here are three examples of this.

/18 cont./

133 Atlantic to form two promontories and delineate the two bays of Agadir and Cape Guir. Farther to the north, one no longer finds high peaks, but only vast calcareous plateaus terminated toward north and east by abrupt cliffs, between which wind the deep gorges of the dry wadis. Still farther, toward Mogador, they are the dry hills of the Haha, whose appearance /19/ brightens only [137] on the banks of the Oued Qsob. The forest of argan trees and tuyas /thuyas/ stretches from south to north over the whole country from the mountains to the banks of the Tensift. The sadness and solitude that prevail there further add to the general desola-
361 tion. Life brightens up only in the hollow of the wadis, at the
133 points where the water crops out for an instant; then poor villages
[137] crowd one another on the steep banks, while in the gorges of the wadis thick clumps of palm trees enlaced with vines come out of the ravines. Elsewhere, on the plateaus, springs are almost ab-
[312] sent; each Berbère /Berber/ builds a house on an isolated hill and
[241] digs cisterns; in order to till, he clears the surrounding forest, burning the trees and brush over large areas.

133 There is no difficult obstacle, especially in the north and in the west of this country, that can stop the passage of tribes that
• 167 have come from the Sahara or from the Anti-Atlas, driven to-
619 ward the Gharb /Rharb/ by famine. Accordingly, this far zone of the Atlas is peopled in large part by families originally from the south. In the same way the Berbères /Berbers/ could not offer any lasting resistance to the passage of the Sultan's harkas coming from the north. The Haha, reduced to obedience long ago, have thus become the faithful servants of the Empire, and they have fought to make its power respected as far as the plains of the Sous, of the Chtouka, and of the Ait Ba ᶜAmran. The Ida ou Tanan alone, having taken refuge in the most inaccessible part of the territory, have tried to preserve their liberties by staying away from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

133 The mountain of the Sirwa, which the valleys surround so as to draw a vast circle traced by the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, the
103 Tidili, the Imini, and the ravines of the Aït ᶜAmer, also constitutes a natural refuge, whose appearance is indeed such as to

/34 cont./

*175 Agadir, to the country of the Mezwar of the Dra in the district of Tinzoulin, while in the plains of the North the Hilalians of the Sofian /Sofyan/ and Jochem tribes, allied to the Portuguese of Safi and Mogador, will lay waste the crops of the Berbères /Berbers/ at the foot of the Atlas as far as the gates of Marrakech. But little by little the Arabs of the Dra, they too, will find themselves pushed back into the Sahara. In our day the Oulad Yahya of the Khela Tifernin, the ʿArib and the Roha of the bend of the Dra take no more than a reduced part in the activity of the great valleys.

Thus is accomplished, in the Moroccan South, the triumph of the sedentary peoples over the nomads, the slow assimilation of the foreigners by the autochthons; by groups or by isolated families, the last to come settle on the land, and in the solitude of the desert one again meets no more than irreducible elements whose present weakness and misery hardly permit us to imagine what the power of the Maʿqil formerly was.

*175 IV. The interior displacements. -- Even when the peopling
•167 of the Sous region appears finished, interior movements continue
194 to stir up the bulk of the sedentary tribes. Displacements of small social groups finish bringing about the intimate mixture of the elements of various origins, already prepared by the clash of the large Berbère /Berber/ or Arab families.

This phenomenon of "brassage" /stirring, mixing/ goes on in two forms. We have mentioned above the attraction exerted by the irrigated valleys and the oases of the Dir on the inhabitants of the mountains or infertile plains. But a displacement of tribes toward the North is also produced, which indeed indicates, by the very constancy of its direction, the existence of a permanent restlessness of the men obliged to live in this hard country. A number of tribes of the Anti-Atlas or /35/ of the south versant of the Atlas have thus put out colonies on the northern slopes of the Deren or in the country of the Haha. Moreover, the memory of
[101] the ethnic bond that united the detached fraction with the mother tribe has often disappeared. Only the name survives,

/35 cont./

*175 which indicates to us the origin of these favored groups who have
•167 thus succeeded in establishing themselves farther to the North in
174 regions less hostile to human life. Such are the Souktana, set-
101 tled a short time ago at a distance of a day's walk from Marrakech on the first slopes of the hills of the Kik and who are brothers of the Isouktan of the eastern Anti-Atlas; the Ouzgita of the Jbel Kik, relatives of the Ait Waouzgit of the Sirwa, the Aït Semmeg of the southern Dir of the Atlas, northeast of Taroudant, who without doubt came from the land of the Aït Semmeg of the north versant of the Anti-Atlas; the Ida Ou Bouzia, Aït ᶜAmer, Aït ᶜAisi, south of the Haha, originally from tribes of the same name who are still established in the plain or the Dir of the Chtouka.

Actually, as we shall see, each of the little tribes who thus live a great distance to the north of the territory of the social group that gave them birth and whose name they keep is not exclusively made up of families of the same blood; many foreigners who arrived from every direction came to enlarge the mass of emigrants. But the founding of these colonies remains no less, in origin, a manifestation of this great historic movement of migration toward the north by tribes coming from the Sahara and the steppes, which is being completed today before our eyes by imperceptible displacements of families in a country henceforth conquered by sedentary living.

*175 V. Consequences of the settlement on the soil for the cohe-
648 sion of social groups. -- At the time when, in the Moroccan South, the predominance of Berbère /Berber/ agriculturalists over all the elements of outside origin is asserting itself, it is not useless to observe how much the bond, formerly so strong, that joined together the tribes from which the big families of the Masmouda and Senhaja were made was then weakened. Since the sixteenth century, after the passage of the Arabs and the maraboutic reaction, it seems that the hostility of the two races has disappeared. As a matter of fact, from now on the historians do
[101] not mention their names to us any more, except to show the

/48 cont./

556 always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in
184 the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only
511 a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or
•[167] to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the
[464] money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining in the country.

779 XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its history will make us understand by what circumstances -- profoundly subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work
[346] of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this country has been crowned with success, and one would look in vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.

795 /49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed
[788] by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in
[554] the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom
[184] an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, ac-
[798] companied besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères /Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their
[554] marabouts, scholars, and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from their tithes.

779 As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints mani-
776 fests itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One
[171] can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for
[792] their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these
*[631] small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a
[619] canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups pos-
776 sesses its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanc-
778 tuaries, those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla ᶜAziza of the
619

/205 cont./

616 the two leffs could have been constituted in the most ancient
174 times.

The Igezzoulen, Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ who doubtless
616 came from the Sahara toward the Sous in the first centuries of
174 the Hegira, found before them some Zenaga -- other Senhaja
-167 who had preceded their brothers in the occupation of the country,
648 as well as Masmouda already settled in the valleys (1).

1. A tradition collected in the country of the Ammeln represents the Igezzoulen as the group of noble tribes that came from Arabia to bring Islam to the Aoggwa of the Anti-Atlas, then following pagan practices or Judaism. That would be a popular interpretation of the conquest of the Anti-Atlas by the Igezzoulen, doubtless realized by invoking the principles of Islam against the tribes poorly converted up to then.

We know the furious resistance set against the Almohades by the Igezzoulen of the Far South. On the other hand, in the thirteenth century the Zenaga, in the Jbel Negisa (2),

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. I, p. 132.

to the east of the Anti-Atlas, seem to have given, with the Arabs, their support to the founding of the small kingdom of the Beni Yedder, who fought especially against the Igezzoulen. Were the Zenaga in the East, at the same time as the Souktana, the champions of the fight against the invaders, who would have settled at first in the mountains, in the poorest part of the country? Did not the Aoggwa, too, perhaps united with the Chtouka, settled from this time on in the vicinity of the western plains, try to contain their rude neighbors in the region of the summits? Finally, as a consequence of the invasion of the Maᶜqil, a fusion of Arab and Berbère /Berber/ elements would doubtless have been

2: Montagne--274 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11
Rif MX3

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/205 cont./ produced, more noticeable in the plains than in the mountains, in such a way that the leff of the "Aoggwa" would in our day be penetrated more by Arab influences.

Later the progressive settlement of the tribes on their territory, the natural mixing of the small social groups, and the indefinite repetition of the quarrels of the tribal fractions must have led to the breaking up of the large leffs in the east of the Anti-Atlas, at the junction point with the territory of the Aït Waouzgit; the same phenomenon would have been produced toward the Atlantic plains and at the edge of the desert. Thus little by little there would be constituted the political chessboard of the Far South, whose irregular aspect is still far from presenting the balanced state of division of the leffs of the Masmouda, more ancient, fragmented into equal parts, the parts of which are constituted by cantons.

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XIII. The leffs of the Jbala and of the Rif. -- The institution of the leffs /206/ assumes, among the sedentary peoples of the north of Morocco, an aspect that differs both from that of the Masmouda and from the tribes of the Anti-Atlas.

From the Atlantic versant of the chain of the North and as far as the mouth of the Moulouya, which forms the eastern boundary of the Rif, people designate, by the name of "Senhaja" and of "Ghomara," at the same time two large confederations and alliances of tribes comparable to the ones of the south of Morocco (1).

1. Cf. on the Ghomara and Senhaja: M. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," pp. 4-8; E. Lévi-Provençal, "Une liste de surnoms populaires des tribus Djebalah /A List of Popular Surnames of the Jebala Tribes/" (Archives berbères, 1918). -- Our friend M. G.-S. Colin has kindly consented to communicate to us an unpublished study that he

/417 cont./

619 In the same manner, temporary emigration has for 20 years
167 taken a new spurt; but each Sous tribe sends its sons into a few villages of its choice in the north of Morocco, so that one sees them group themselves by corporate bodies and by quarters; in the midst of foreigners they live by themselves, speak their dialect, receive ceaselessly from travelers the most detailed news of the events in their tribe, and continue to be connected by invisible bonds to their small fatherland.

167 Finally, the distribution of the very colonies of Chleuhs /Shluh/ of the Parisian suburbs or of the industrial cities of the north and center of France appears to us like a distorted map of the various social groups of the Sous; the tribes of Massat, of the Ida Ou Baqil, of the Ammeln, of the Ida Ou Gnidif are thus formed again in the garrets of Argenteuil, Puteaux, and Saint-Étienne, where life is organized by cantons and by villages (1).

1. Justinard, Revue des Études islamiques, 1928, pp. 477-480.

671 Without doubt, this is the place to recall that in other regions
171 of Berbérie /Barbary/ surprising survivals attest with striking
178 clearness to the vitality of the customary law of the tribes. It is known how the Kabyle "Kanoun," written down in French without the knowledge of our administrators, still at present bring traditional sanctions to bear on offenses repressed by French laws; these clandestine regulations continue to regulate the existence of villages of the Djurjura by adapting, not without some merit, to the political, economic, and moral transformations of our time (2).

2. Milliot, "Les nouveaux qanoun kabyles /The New Kabyle Qanoun/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter.